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nour about it, but lest multiplicity of business might occasion his forgetting y<sup>r</sup> of, Mr. Gibson desired me to acquaint you that there might be no scruple in signing it My earnest desire of the perusal of those Books makes me not fear the Impertinency in Seconding my above Request about the Books w<sup>ch</sup> shall be carefully used and safely returned

by Your Wff.

To Esq. Wormley.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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### Proclamations of Nathaniel Bacon.

[The following proclamations were issued by Nathaniel Bacon in the course of the memorable insurrection of 1676, which is so completely identified with his name. This insurrection, which for a time was a successful uprising against many intolerable wrongs, preceded the American Revolution by a century, an event which it resembled in its spirit, if not in its causes and results. Bacon is known in history as the Rebel, but the fuller information which we have now as to the motives of his conduct shows that he can with more justice be described as Bacon the Patriot. This fact is brought out with special clearness in the first of the three proclamations which we publish. He headed a powerful popular movement in which the sovereignty of the people was for the first time relied upon on American soil by a great leader as the justification of his acts. The spirit breathing through the Declaration of the People is the spirit of the Declaration of Independence written a hundred years later. The Appeal to the People of Accomac has a more local significance. The people of that county had been earnest supporters of Berkeley in the insurrection, and he had taken refuge among them when driven from the western shore by Bacon. The originals of these three proclamations are now in the British State Paper Office.]

#### NATHANIEL BACON ESQ'R HIS MANIFESTO CONCERNING THE PRESENT TROUBLES IN VIRGINIA.

If vertue be a sin, if Piety be giult, all the Principles of morality goodness and Justice be perverted, Wee must confesse That those who are now called Rebells may be in danger of those high imputations, Those loud and severall Bulls would affright

Innocents and render the defence of o<sup>r</sup> Brethren and the enquiry into o<sup>r</sup> sad and heavy oppressions, Treason. But if there bee as sure there is, a just God to appeal too, if Religion and Justice be a sanctuary here, If to plead y<sup>e</sup> cause of the oppressed, If sincerely to aime at his Mat<sup>re</sup> Honour and the Publick good without any reservation or by Interest, If to stand in the Gap after soe much blood of o<sup>r</sup> dear Brethren bought and sold, If after the losse of a great part of his Ma<sup>re</sup> Colony deserted and dispeopled, freely with o<sup>r</sup> lives and estates to indeavor to save the remaynders bee Treason God Almighty Judge and lett guilty dye, But since wee cannot in o<sup>r</sup> hearts find one single spott of Rebellion or Treason or that wee have in any manner aimed at the subverting y<sup>e</sup> settled Government or attempting of the Person of any either magistrate or private man not with standing the severall Reproaches and Threats of some who for sinister ends were disaffected to us and censured o<sup>r</sup> ino[cent] and honest designes, and since all people in all places where wee have yet bin can attest o<sup>r</sup> civill quiet peaseable behaviour farre different from that of Rebellion and tumultuous persons let Trueth be bold and all the world know the real Foundations of pretended giult, Wee appeale to the Country it selfe what and of what nature their Oppressions have bin or by what Caball and mistery the designes of many of those whom wee call great men have bin transacted and caryed on, but let us trace these men in Authority and Favour to whose hands the dispensation of the Countries wealth has been committed; let us observe the sudden Rise of their Estates composed with the Quality in w<sup>ch</sup> they first entered this Country Or the Reputation they have held here amongst wise and discerning men, And lett us see wither their extractions and Education have not bin vile, And by what pretence of learning and vertue they could soe soon into Imployments of so great Trust and consequence, let us consider their sudden advancement and let us also consider wither any Publick work for o<sup>r</sup> safety and defence or for the Advancem<sup>t</sup> and propogation of Trade, liberall Arts or sciences is here Extant in any [way] adequate to o<sup>r</sup> vast chardg, now let us compare these things togit [her] and see what spounges have suckt up the Publique Treasure and wither it hath not bin privately contrived away by unworthy Favourites and juggling Parasites whose tottering For-

tunes have bin repaired and supported at the Publique chardg, now if it be so Judg what greater giult can bee then to offer to pry into these and to unriddle the misterious wiles of a powerfull Cabal let all people Judge what can be of more dangerous Import then to suspect the soe long Safe proceedings of Some of o<sup>r</sup> Grandees and wither People may with safety open their Eyes in soe nice a Concerne.

Another main article of o<sup>r</sup> Giult is o<sup>r</sup> open and manifest aversion of all, not onely the Foreign but the protected and Darling Indians, this wee are informed is Rebellion of a deep dye For that both the Governour and Councell are by Colonell Coales Assertion bound to defend the Queen and the Appamatocks with their blood Now whereas we doe declare and can prove that they have bin for these Many years enemies to the King and Country, Robbers and Theeves and Invaders of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Right and o<sup>r</sup> Interest and Estates, but yet have by persons in Authority bin defended and protected even against His Ma<sup>ties</sup> loyall Subjects and that in soe high a Nature that even the Complaints and oaths of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Most loyal Subjects in a lawfull Manner profffered by them against tho<sup>o</sup> barborous Outlawes have bin by y<sup>e</sup> right honourable Governour rejected and y<sup>e</sup> Delinquents from his presence dismissed not only with pardon and indemnitye but with all incouragement and favour, Their Fire Arms soe destractfull to us and by o<sup>r</sup> lawes prohibited, Commanded to be restored them, and open Declaration before Witness made That they must have Ammunition although directly contrary to o<sup>r</sup> law, Now what greater giult can be then to oppose and indeavour the destruction of these Honest quiet neighbours of ours.

Another main article of our Giult is o<sup>r</sup> Design not only to ruine and extirpate all Indians in Generall but all Manner of Trade and Commerce with them, Judge who can be innocent that strike at this tender Eye of Interest; Since the Right honourable the Governour hath bin pleased by his Commission to warrant this Trade who dare oppose it, or opposing it can be innocent, Although Plantations be deserted, the blood of o<sup>r</sup> dear Brethren Spilt, on all Sides o<sup>r</sup> complaints, continually Murder upon Murder renewed upon us, who may or dare think of the generall Subversion of all Mannor of Trade and Commerce with o<sup>r</sup> enemies who can or dare impeach any of \* \* \* Traders at

the Heades of the Rivers if contrary to the wholesome provision made by lawes for the countries safety, they dare continue their illegall practises and dare asperse ye right honourable Governoers wisdome and Justice soe highly to pretend to have his warrant to break that law w<sup>ch</sup> himself made, who dare say That these Men at the Heads of the Rivers buy and sell o<sup>r</sup> blood, and doe still notwithstanding the late Act made to the contrary, admit Indians painted and continue to Commerce, although these things can be proved yet who dare bee soe guilty as to doe it.

Another Article of o<sup>r</sup> Giult is To Assert all those neighbour Indians as well as others to be outlawed, wholly unqualifyed for the benefitt and Protection of the law, For that the law does reciprocally protect and punish, and that all people offending must either in person or Estate make equivalent satisfaction or Restitution according to the manner and merit of y<sup>e</sup> Offences Debts or Trespasses; Now since the Indians cannot according to the tenure and forme of any law to us known be prosecuted, Seised or Complained against, Their Persons being difficulty distinguished or known, Their many nations languages, and their subtersuges such as makes them incapeable to make us Restitution or satisfaction would it not be very giulty to say They have bin unjustly defended and protected these many years.

If it should be said that the very foundation of all these disasters the Grant of the Beaver trade to the Right Honourable Governoour was illegall and not granteable by any power here present as being a monopoly, were not this to deserve the name of Rebell and Traytor.

Judge therefore all wise and unprejudiced men who may or can faithfully or truely with an honest heart attempt y<sup>e</sup> country's good, their vindication and libertie without the aspersion of Traitor and Rebell, since as soe doing they must of necessity gall such tender and dear concernes, But to manifest Sincerity [*sic*] and loyalty to the World, and how much wee abhorre those bitter names, may all the world know that we doe unanimously desire to represent o<sup>r</sup> sad and heavy grievances to his most sacred Ma<sup>re</sup> as o<sup>r</sup> Refuge and Sanctuary, where wee doe well know that all o<sup>r</sup> Causes will be impartially heard and Equall Justice administred to all men.

## THE DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE.

For having upon specious pretences of Publick works raised unjust Taxes upon the Commonalty for the advancement of private Favourits and other sinner ends but noe visible effects in any measure adequate.

For not having dureing the long time of his Government in any measure advanced this hopefull Colony either by Fortification, Townes or Trade.

For having abused and rendered Contemptible the Majesty of Justice, of advancing to places of judicature scandalous and Ignorant favourits.

For having wronged his Ma<sup>ies</sup> Prerogative and Interest by assuming the monopoley of the Beaver Trade.

By having in that unjust gaine Bartered and sould his Ma<sup>e</sup> Country and the lives of his Loyal Subjects to the Barbarous Heathen.

For haveing protected favoured and Imboldened the Indians against his Ma<sup>e</sup> most Loyall subjects never contriveing requireing or appointing any due or proper meanes of satisfaction for their many Invasions Murthers and Robberies Committed upon us.

For having when the Army of the English was Just upon the Track of the Indians, which now in all places Burne Spoyle and Murder, and when wee might with ease have destroyed them who then were in open Hostility for having expresly Countermanded and sent back our Army by passing his word for the peaceable demeanour of the said Indians, who imediately prosecuted their evill Intentions Committing horrid Murders and Robberies in all places being protected by the said Engagement and word pass'd of him the said S'r William Berkley having ruined and made desolate a great part of his Ma<sup>e</sup> Country, have now drawne themselves into such obscure and remote places and are by their successes soe imboldened and confirmed and by their Confederacy soe strengthened that the cryes of Bloud are in all places and the Terroure and consternation of the People soe great, that they are now become not only a difficult, but a very formidable Enemy who might with Ease have been destroyed &c. When upon the Loud Outcries of Blood the Assembly had with all

care raised and framed an Army for the prevention of future Mischiefs and safeguard of his Ma<sup>ie</sup> Colony.

For having with only the privacy of some few favourits without acquainting the People, only by the Alteration of a Figure forged a Commission by wee know not what hand, not only without but against the Consent of the People, for raising and effecting of Civill Warrs and distractions, which being happily and w<sup>th</sup>out Bloodshedd prevented.

For haveing the second tyme attempted the same thereby, calling downe our Forces from the defence of the Frontiers, and most weake Exposed Places, for the prevention of civill Mischief and Ruine amongst ourselves, whilst the barbarous Enemy in all places did Invade murder and spoyle us his Ma<sup>ie</sup> most faithfull subjects.

Of these the aforesaid Articles wee accuse S'r William Berkely, as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one, who hath Traiterously attempted, violated and Injured his Ma<sup>ie</sup> Interest here, by the losse of a great Part of his Colony, and many of his Faithfull and Loyall subjects by him betrayed, and in a barbarous and shamefull manner exposed to the Incursions and murthers of the Heathen.

And we further declare these the Ensueing Persons in this List, to have been his wicked, and pernicious Councillors, Aiders and Assisters against the Commonalty in these our Cruell Comotions

S <sup>r</sup> Henry Chicherly, Knt.,	Jos. Bridger,
Col. Charles Wormley,	W <sup>m</sup> Clabourne,
Phil. Dalowell,	Thos. Hawkins, Juni'r,
Robert Beverly,	William Sherwood,
Robert Lee,	Jos. Page, Clerk,
Thos. Ballard,	Jo. Cliffe, "
William Cole,	Hubberd Farrell,
Richard Whitacre,	John West,
Nicholas Spencer,	Thos. Reade,

Mathew Kemp.

And wee doe further demand, That the said S'r William Berkley, w<sup>th</sup> all the Persons in this List, be forthw<sup>th</sup> delivered upp, or surrender themselves, w<sup>th</sup>in foure dayes, after the notice hereof, or otherwise wee declare, as followeth, That in whatsoeuer house,

place, or shipp, any of the said Persons shall reside, be hide, or protected, Wee doe declare, that the Owners, masters, or Inhabitants of the said places, to be Confederates, and Traitors to the People, and the Estates of them, as alsoe of all the aforesaid Persons to be Confiscated, This wee the Commons of Virginia doe declare desiring a prime Union among ourselves, that wee may Joyntly, and with one Accord defend ourselves against the Common Enemye. And Let not the Faults of the guilty, be the Reproach of the Innocent, or the Faults or Crimes of ye Oppressors divide and separate us, who have suffered by theire oppressions.

These are therefore in his Ma<sup>u</sup> name, to Command you forthwith to seize, the Persons above mentioned, as Traytors to ye King and Countrey, and them to bring to Middle Plantation, and there to secure them, till further Order, and in Case of opposition, if you want any other Assistance, you are forthwith to demand it in the Name of the People of all the Counties of Virginia

[sign<sup>4</sup>]

NATH BACON, Gen'l.  
By the Consent of ye People.

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#### BACON'S APPEALE TO THE PEOPLE OF ACCOMACK.

Of part of our victory, and the misery of your own and S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Berkleys Condition, your selves are Judges, how unjust your cause was, how base and sordid the invitation that tempted, how unheard of, his and your manner of proceedings against yo<sup>r</sup> neighbors and friends, to invade this poor Colony and bee the first beginners of Bloodshed amongst his Ma<sup>ies</sup> subjects, for hopes of Plunder: does I believe by this time gall your consciences and reasons to reflect upon, and consider how you have been deluded and gulled by that abominable Jugler: whose cheates and base Actions you are all acquainted with, and whose oppressions you have a long time groaned under, which that you may more clearly see and understand, read without p<sup>r</sup>judice and consid<sup>r</sup>.

Know what I have done, has bin in defence of his Ma<sup>ies</sup> interest (by a power derived from his Ma<sup>ies</sup>) as authentique and immediate, as in this part of the world can be—being a Commission signed by S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Berkley att the request of yo<sup>r</sup> Assembly, and ratified by an Act of Assembly, whereby the said Si<sup>r</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> Berkley amply and fully expresseth his confidence of my Loyalty to his Ma<sup>ie</sup> to bee one of the grounds and reasons of this intrusting mee with soe great a charge, which doth fully and absolutely acquitt me of that violence whereby hee pretends the Commission to be extorted, for that all the world may imagine that noe man of honour in his place, would bee compelled to Act against reason, soe that noe reasonable man can imagine Compulsion otherwise than a Ridiculous Evasion.

For in Taxing mee contrary to the tenor of my Commission hee taxeth himself of Treason to our Soveraigne, w<sup>th</sup> no p<sup>t</sup>tence of compulsion can excuse, for it is not to bee supposed that his Ma<sup>ie</sup> would intrust either a Coward, or a ffoole, soe that it doth necessarily follow that if my Commission were Just and granted for reasonable grounds (as by the tenor thereof under his hand doth appeare) then the Complaint by him ag<sup>t</sup> us, was unjust and abominable or if I were what hee pr<sup>t</sup>ends hee doth att once confesse himself both a Coward and a Traitor which hee very well knows: and it is on that score, that by his folly and passion together, hath involved himself, and this poore Colony, in such a Laborinth of ruine, for that hee very well knows, that hee never can Answer what hee hath done before his Ma<sup>ie</sup>, should his doings, and what he was alwaies desirious of, come to the eares of our Soveraigne Lord (as by our former declaration may appear) for he knowes and will consider, that by his own handwriting all his accusations ag<sup>t</sup> his Ma<sup>ies</sup> Loyall Subjects, which were with such haste dispatched for England, are frustrate, when that it will appeare that hee hath granted me Commission of an Afterdate to his Accusation, hee therefore perceiving that all his damnable Plotts and devices ag<sup>t</sup> the people although by all his Artifices, Lyes and Juggles must of necessity turne on himselfe, not daring to trust himselfe to the Justice of our Soveraigne, whose interest with our lives wee have defended, resolved rather to trust his Cause to the rash Conduct of his madd party, to the wisedome of a discerning Prince, who must needs count him unfitt to Governe, who neither had the principle to doe what was just, nor the courage to oppose what was unjust.

Again consid<sup>r</sup> also, that hee has Acted beyond his Commission or power, granted from his Ma<sup>ie</sup> wh impowers him to Act with foure of his Councell Jointly, when in this late disturbance, hee hath had but Two (Cole & Ludwell.)

Againe consid' that hee Levyed forces without an Assembly or the consent of the Country. against the people who have hitherto been of the defensive party.

Lastly consid' how closely, constantly and diligently wee have acquitted ourselves of our trust, and taken all possible advantages of our Indian Enemy.

Consid' also what considerable victoryes wee have obtained, in two marches ag<sup>t</sup> them and how we have been pursued and prosecuted in both.

Consid' also what ill successe hee and his party have had, and what little reason you have to boast either of your purchase or any your attempts, or actions in our Rivers.

Gent.

If therefore, sence, reason or humanity can invite you (bee unbeguiled betimes) and attend what is seriously spoken to you and propounded by the people of Virginia, that if you doe within fifteene dayes after the arrival of this paper on y<sup>r</sup> shore, send some of y<sup>r</sup> discreetest persons in the name of your Countrey, to make us sattisfaction for our Losses (which by your Pyracyes) wee have sustained, and to deliver up to us the Ringleaders, to bee sent into England, there to have their Tryall, that is to say Custis, Stringer, ffoxcraft, Littleton, as also shall howrly convey to us what persons of our party are there detained as Prisoners, that then out of the tender desires wee have to p'serve peace and Amnity among ourselves, that his Ma<sup>ies</sup> Colony might not bee ruined by yo<sup>r</sup> rashness: wee will rather treat w<sup>th</sup> you as Brothers and friends and endeavour that our sad difference may bee composed.

And that this action of y<sup>om</sup> may be reckoned as the seducem<sup>t</sup> of that abominable Jugler S<sup>r</sup> —— whose oppressions you have formerly known then any wayes revive the memory of it to the Breach and discontinuance of that peace which wee hitherto have, and ought to maintaine (w<sup>th</sup> if you deny) I appeale even to yourselves, if you can justly blame us, if wee prosecute you with all extremity of warr, to the utmost of our powers, which you must expect from them, whom nothing but your own folly and Injustice has or can make your Enemies.

Subscribed thus,

NATH. BACON.